

# AVOIDING OBSCURING GENERALIZATIONS: DIFFERENCES IN MIGRANTS AND THEIR ADAPTATIONS TO AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT

by *Michael B. Whiteford*

## INTRODUCTION

Urban adaptation, the processes whereby rural migrants adjust to new city surroundings, is neither a new nor a novel subject for scholars interested in social change. Too often, however, we are quick to gloss over the complexities of this issue, for writers frequently assume—at least implicitly—that all urban migrants come from the same rural mold, have similar life experiences, and are thus equally prepared before coming to the city. This is not always the case. Further, migrants respond to the urban setting in a number of different ways. In this paper I examine the variance in migrants to Popayán, Colombia, by looking at where they come from, what they did before coming to the city, and what strategies they employ to improve their social and economic circumstances after arriving. The analysis is based on the differences in effectiveness of the resources and skills that migrants bring with them to Popayán. I will look at similarities and differences between migrants in light of implications the data have for planning and urban development programs, specifically in housing.

What follows is a comparative analysis of measures employed by erstwhile country people in two low-income, working-class neighborhoods, or *barrios*, and is based on my own research in the provincial city of Popayán, capital of the Department of Cauca (cf. A. Whiteford, 1964, 1976). Both barrios consist principally of migrants, are located on the outskirts at opposite ends of the city, and were built in the early 1960s. Barrio Alberto Lleras is a government-sponsored housing project; Barrio Tulcán is independently organized.

## THE TWO BARRIOS

In 1960 the *Instituto de Crédito Territorial* (ICT), the Colombian gov-

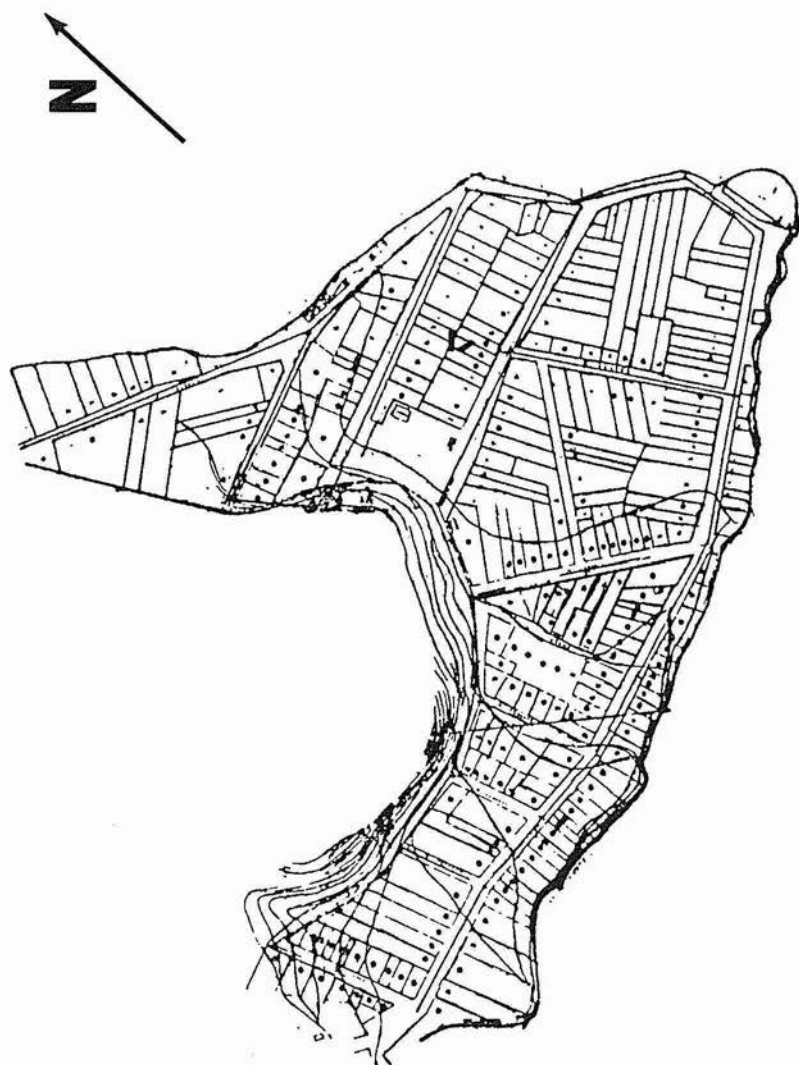
---

Michael Whiteford is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Iowa State University.

MAP 1  
THE TWO BARRIOS



BARRIO ALBERTO LLERAS



BARRIO TULCÁN

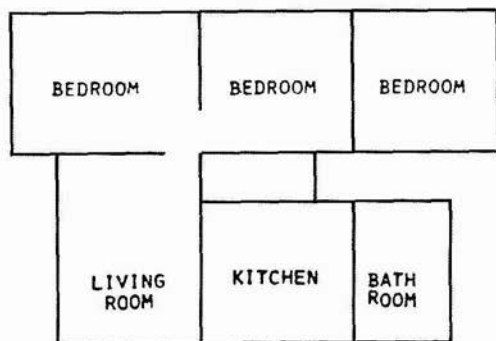
ernment's housing agency, purchased some vacant land on the western edge of the city and laid out a grid pattern for thirty-two rectangular residential blocks. The planners left a vacant section in the complex's center for future construction of a community center, church, and school, and approved the establishment of a commercial area on one of its edges. Today this area includes a market, a movie theater, and a series of small stores, mechanical workshops, and bar/restaurants (see map 1). Within the next two years ICT contracted to have 382 houses built. In addition it authorized another 374 units to be constructed through self-help programs in which lot owners, working with ICT plans and supervision, built their own houses. Since 1962 there has been practically no new construction of houses although dwellings continually undergo renovation: floor plans are changed, second stories occasionally are added, and so forth (see map 2).

Not everybody can buy housing in Alberto Lleras, and even today ICT polices the selling of houses to which it holds title. Although it is designed for the *clase popular* (lower class), individuals seeking ICT housing must clearly demonstrate their financial capacity to make regular payments. In an attempt to prevent default, ICT requires that potential residents fill out various applications asking for receipts for the previous year's taxes and statements on employment, thus allowing the agency to gauge whether sufficient income will be generated to maintain mortgage installments. Other documents required include police clearance, reports indicating whether military service has been completed, and medical certificates attesting to good health, all of which serve to disqualify or discourage many prospective buyers. Thus, through a complicated process of elimination, only those who have been relatively successful in manipulating their urban situation—but who still are poor enough to qualify—can get ICT housing. Today, the barrio's elected governing council estimates the population to be approximately 5,500 in Barrio Alberto Lleras. Of this, migrants account for 60% of the household heads, with 88% of them having come to Popayán when they were more than fifteen years old.<sup>1</sup>

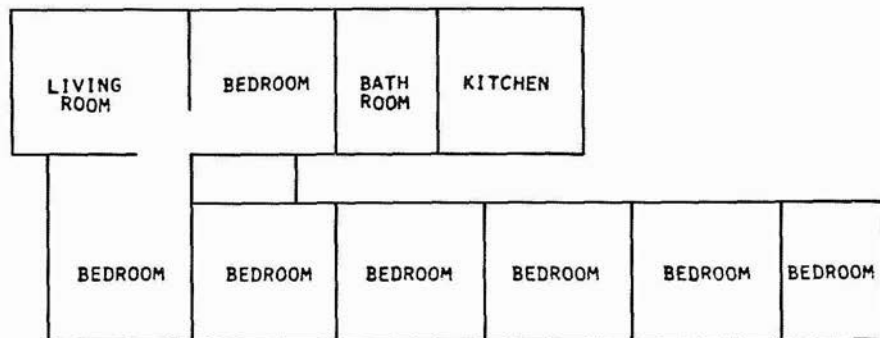
Located across town, Barrio Tulcán's appearance lacks the orderliness which characterizes Alberto Lleras (see map 1). With its two main roads emanating from a single point, the physical organization of Tulcán resembles a series of meandering streams rather than the checkerboard crispness of Alberto Lleras—or for that matter the rest of Popayán. Its initial development occurred because a local businessman, distressed at the living conditions of some of the employees at his brick factory, took matters into his own hands. In 1964 he sold his equipment, and tried to sell his factory land to ICT for low-income housing. When ICT showed

MAP 2  
CHANGES IN HOUSE PLANS:  
BARRIO ALBERTO LLERAS

1964



1974



no interest, he subdivided the land into 164 different-sized lots and disposed of the property within a year to low income families. Today, unlike the situation in Alberto Lleras, there is no agency that dictates who can buy or sell in Tulcán. People move in and out of the barrio, negotiating only with the landowners themselves for permission to settle. Barrio Tulcán had approximately 2,000 residents in 1974. With close to 80% of its household heads born outside of Popayán—and 84% of that group coming in after the age of fifteen—it, too, is a barrio of migrants.

For residents of the two neighborhoods, the differences between barrios extend well beyond the obvious physical ones. Although there are some similarities in the migration process, migrants' urban existences in the two areas are really quite different.

#### MOVING TO THE CITY

Social scientists attribute movement to urban areas to a variety of inter-related forces that push rural inhabitants out of the countryside (such as population pressures on available land or drops in the price of their cash crops) while simultaneously attracting them to the city (such as the hope of obtaining good jobs or simply an escape from the confines of rural life). Although it has heuristic value, the "push-pull" syndrome (cf. Butterworth, 1971:86-91; Germani, 1961:212-214; Gilbert, 1974:103; Herrick, 1965:13-15; Kemper, 1970:616) is regarded by some as too simplistic a model (cf. J. Whiteford, 1975:254-257) because it regards all the forces as external and does not account for personal desires.

In both barrios the primary reason for moving was economic: two-thirds of the migrants indicated they were in Popayán specifically to find work (see table 1). Before coming, the majority of Tulcanés household

TABLE 1  
PRIMARY REASON FOR MOVING TO POPAYÁN (in percentages)

Reason for move	Tulcán (N = 83)	Alberto Lleras (N = 91)
Find work	66	64
Obtain medical care	11	3
Brought as small child	8	6
Family obligations	5	9
Individual reasons	4	4
Escape from rural violence	4	3
Educate children	2	11

heads had been peasant farmers, owning and working their own land. Others had been rural proletarians, engaged in similar agricultural work, but as wage laborers on land they did not own. While many of the Alberto Lleras migrants had similar rural backgrounds, fully a third possessed some specific job training (such as teachers or policemen), and most received it before coming to Popayán. Thus, unlike their Tulcanés colleagues who came to the city to find employment and who arrived unprepared for any kind of work except unskilled or semi-skilled manual labor, a sizable portion of the Alberto Lleras migrant population arrived trained for specific jobs, and got them.

The second most frequently cited reason among Tulcaneses for moving to Popayán was the need to obtain medical care for a family member, an indication that the move was done less because it was something the family wanted to do than because most types of prolonged treatment demand urban medical facilities. Adolfo González arrived in Popayán and moved directly to Tulcán in 1970 because his wife was unable to get the medical care she needed in their village of Rosario. Although María obviously required treatment, Adolfo had been reluctant to move, not only because he liked farming, but also because he was successful. Unlike some of his neighbors who left the countryside, Adolfo had been financially able to support his extended family on his small farm.

Obtaining medical care was not nearly as important a factor in the decision-making processes of Alberto Lleras residents. After seeking jobs, the second most important reason they gave for moving to Popayán was to educate their children. Increasingly, rural Colombians are becoming aware of the importance of education for improving their lives. Radio broadcasts and articles in newspapers and magazines constantly stress the importance of an educated populace. Furthermore, many prospective employers, be they store managers or just individuals who wish to hire night watchmen, give candidates written exams as a process of eliminating applicants. In rural areas getting even a primary school education can be difficult or impossible. Schools frequently are several hours' walk from households; and even when the schools are available, many families can spare their children only half-days. In addition, secondary educational facilities are almost completely an urban phenomenon: 80% of Colombia's approximately 1000 high schools are in departmental capitals, with a third of the total concentrated in Bogotá (Adams, 1969: 530-531). Thus, securing a decent education requires living in an urban setting.

There is a variety of other reasons for migrants to go to Popayán. An average of almost 7% of the respondents in both barrios were brought there as small children. Family obligations, such as coming to stay with

sick relatives or to care for elderly parents who have previously moved to Popayán, account for an average in both barrios of 6% of the responses. Four percent of the replies given in both communities were individual or miscellaneous reasons. Examples range from Jorge Miranda, who served time in the Popayán penitentiary on a murder charge and decided to stay in the city after he was released, to Sixto Villanueva, an Ecuadorian, who as a prizefighter was stranded in Popayán thirty years ago when his entourage ran out of money and he was forced to find a new line of employment immediately. Finally, during the 1950s and up through the middle 1960s rural violence, responsible for as many as 200,000 deaths in Colombia (cf. Guzmán Campos et al, 1962:295-296), forced many to flee to urban areas for safety, and an average of slightly more than 3% of the migrants in both barrios say they are in Popayán for that reason.

#### MIGRANT COMPOSITION: WHO COMES TO TOWN

The differences in the migrant populations can be seen in several other ways. As with the reasons for coming to Popayán, there appear to be some definite similarities, but also some important distinctions. Not everyone in the rural setting is an equal candidate for moving to the city. The literature indicates there are certain types of people, specifically the young and the better educated, who are most likely to leave the country (cf. Butterworth, 1971:92-96; Simmons and Cardona, 1972:173, McGreevey, 1968:218; Herrick, 1965:73). These patterns hold true for migrants in Tulcán and Alberto Lleras. Migrants tended to be young adults at the time of their arrival (see table 2); on the average, Tulcán's migrant household heads were twenty-two when they arrived, while in Alberto Lleras they were twenty-five years old. (In both barrios the most

TABLE 2  
AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS AT TIME OF ARRIVAL IN POPAYÁN  
(in percentages)

Age	Tulcán (N = 83)	Alberto Lleras (N = 91)
0-9 years	10	7
10-19 years	26	22
20-29 years	26	29
30-39 years	11	21
40-49 years	17	14
50-59 years	4	7
60 years and over	6	0



frequent age at arrival was eighteen years.) The average Tulcanés migrant had approximately three years of education, whereas those in Alberto Lleras averaged slightly over four years of primary school. The difference in one year of school at that point is particularly important to levels of functional literacy; it can be argued that the residents of Alberto Lleras possess an important advantage over Tulcaneses in their ability to handle the printed media. Not only is the difference between migrants in the two groups important, but in both cases it appears to separate them from over half of Colombia's rural population, fifteen years or older, who have never gone to school (Weil et al., 1970:200).

# THE MIGRATION PROCESS

Why migrate to Popayán? Many choose the city because of its proximity to their place of birth or their most recent place of residence. For approximately nine-tenths of the migrants, the distance they traveled from their place of birth to Popayán was less than 150 miles. Two-thirds of the migrants in both barrios were born in the Department of Cauca itself (see table 3). This is not to say that the journey is necessarily an easy one, for migrants often must travel a couple of days by bus to cover a distance of less than 200 miles. At the same time, some of the migrants lived in hamlets only a few hours' walk from Popayán, and more than one migrant commuted by bicycle for several months until he finally de-

TABLE 3  
MIGRANT PLACE OF BIRTH (in percentages)

Department (or Territory)	Tulcán (N = 83)	Alberto Lleras (N = 91)
Antioquia	1	0
Bolívar	0	1
Caldas	0	4
Cauca	64	64
Cundinamarca	1	3
Bogotá, D.E.	1	0
Huila	5	6
Nariño	23	13
Tolima	1	1
Valle del Cauca	1	6
Other	3	2

cided to cut the cord with his home community. There is no question that geographic proximity was a strong factor in selecting Popayán, as has been shown for other urban locations (cf. Simmons and Cardona, 1972:168; Flinn, 1968:79-80; Flinn and Converse, 1970:462 for Bogotá).

With respect to how the move to Popayán was made and the decisions that went into activating the migration process, some interesting comparisons emerge between the two barrios. In both, over half of the migrant household heads (57% in Alberto Lleras and 51% in Tulcán) were the first members of their immediate families to move to Popayán. A fifth (20%) of those in Alberto Lleras made the move by themselves, whereas a fourth (27%) of the Tulcanés migrants arrived without their families. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of Tulcán's residents said the decision to come to Popayán specifically was their own and that they were not influenced by others in making it, in comparison with 57% of the Alberto Lleras migrants.

Migrants possessed differing amounts of information about Popayán before arriving. A fifth of the Tulcaneses felt they were well acquainted with the city before moving. Many had traded in the city's markets, brought their produce to be sold at the Coffee Growers' Association, or visited family or friends living there. In contrast, only a seventh (14%) of those in Alberto Lleras felt they really knew Popayán well. Yet considerably more residents from Alberto Lleras had connections and almost half had jobs promised them *before* they arrived. In contrast, only 16% of the Tulcanés migrants arrived in Popayán with employment commitments.

It is interesting to note that with or without prior job promises, a sizable number of household heads in both barrios (48% in Alberto Lleras, 49% in Tulcán) were able to find some form of employment within a week's time. In both situations migrants relied heavily on urban networks of acquaintances in finding jobs (49% in Alberto Lleras, 43% in Tulcán) as well as in locating their first place to live, with over half (51%) of Alberto Lleras migrants getting help from relatives (as opposed to 44% of migrants from Tulcán who drew upon their kin's resourcefulness).

Slightly more than a fifth (22%) of Tulcán's migrants arrived in Popayán and moved directly to Barrio Tulcán, whereas a sixth (17%) of those in Alberto Lleras went directly to that barrio. In both cases half of the migrants first moved to neighborhoods where they had some kind of contacts.

In both barrios a majority of migrants (an average of 86%) still have relatives in their places of birth. About a quarter have parents there; two-thirds have siblings in their natal areas although continued contacts with these regions varies. A quarter (24%) of the Alberto Lleras migrants

have returned home "numerous times" since arriving in Popayán, while only a sixth (16%) of those from Tulcán have. In both barrios, half of the migrant population have not visited their home lands within the past two months.

Although most migrants initially regard Popayán as their final destination, for some the city is merely a stopover, or step, in a larger process that the individual envisions as ending in Bogotá, or perhaps nearby Cali—a city with over a million inhabitants and one of the country's most highly industrialized urban centers. Between a fifth and a quarter of the migrants, in fact, originally planned to go elsewhere. Popayán was to be a break in the bus ride, a temporary stop where members of the family could earn money to pay for the rest of the trip. In fact, for some Popayán was not their first stop: 17% of the migrant household heads in Tulcán and 27% of those in Alberto Lleras have moved at least three times before coming to Popayán. Furthermore, 18% of those in Alberto Lleras, as well as 13% of Tulcanés migrants, have returned to Popayán after moving elsewhere for a time.

#### OCCUPATIONS: EARNING THE WHEREWITHAL

The differences between the two migrant groups become clearer when the urban situation itself is examined. Some interesting comparisons and contrasts emerge when the occupation situation is studied (see table 4).<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 4  
OCCUPATION OF MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD HEADS (in percentages)

Occupation	Tulcán (N = 57)	Alberto Lleras (N = 66)
Small Scale Commerce	35	18
Construction	11	13
Hauling	12	0
Government	9	21
Agriculture	4	0
Housewife	2	2
Wash clothes	5	5
Industry	3	5
Tailor or Seamstress	2	3
Maid	3	5
Teacher	2	3
Intermediate-Sized Enterprise	7	20
Other	5	5

In Barrio Tulcán the most common type of work is some form of small-scale commerce. Almost a third of the migrant household heads make their living as itinerant vendors, operating small push-carts from which they sell candy and cigarettes, buying herbs in bulk quantity and re-packaging them into small plastic envelopes for resale to local shops, and less frequently, running small housefront stores in the barrio. Twelve percent of Tulcán's migrant household heads work as haulers, going into town each morning to one of the market sites to unload cargo, moving heavy material around in warehouses, or pushing two-wheeled carts through town, ready to transport anything anywhere. A few fortunate individuals own horse-and-cart operations and thus are spared the physical punishment most haulers inflict on themselves daily. Because of the grueling physical labor and low wages, this line of work is not highly regarded. Yet many have no other choice because they lack training or do not have the proper connections to get better jobs. Construction work is also a common occupation of migrants, with most working as unskilled laborers, hod-carriers, or pick and shovel wielders at various sites in town. For all but a few master masons, construction work means spending at least a third of the time unemployed.

Nine percent of the migrant household heads have jobs working in government agencies, both municipal and departmental. Good wages and liberal fringe benefits make these the occupational plums of Tulcán, coveted by many and held by few.

In general, three-quarters of the employed migrant household heads in Tulcán have jobs characterized by instability, underemployment, and frequent unemployment. Furthermore, fewer than half of the barrio household heads earn the Department of Cauca's minimum wage. In fact, the earnings of only 47% of the *total households* in Tulcán would qualify for the amount a single bread winner, working full time, should take home according to the government scale.

How does this compare with migrants in Barrio Alberto Lleras? Because ICT requires some form of stable income as a prerequisite for living in the barrio,<sup>3</sup> it is not surprising that there are no haulers in Alberto Lleras. The most common (21%) employer of Alberto Lleras migrants is the government. Working in one aspect or another of small-scale commerce is the next most common (20%) means of migrant livelihood. Unlike the case in Tulcán, where many of the small-scale merchants operate small confectionery push-carts in various states of disrepair, small-scale merchants in Alberto Lleras are almost exclusively store owners or individuals who operate permanent stands in the nearby market. Thus, while the degree of business independence is the same, the scale differs considerably. Income for Alberto Lleras's merchants is con-

siderably higher and more stable than for merchants in Tulcán. Working for intermediate-sized enterprises, such as commercial establishments in town (for example, clothing stores and hardware shops), accounts for 20% of migrant jobs. These establishments generally pay the minimum wage and often provide some important fringe benefits, such as an extra month's wages at Christmas or contributions to a retirement fund. Although 13% of heads of migrant households in Alberto Lleras work in construction, most of those employed in construction are skilled craftsmen and make enough money to satisfy ICT that they will not default on their monthly payments.

Fully 86% of the migrant household heads earn *more than* the minimum wage for the Department. A third of all household heads in Alberto Lleras receive some form of fringe benefits, compared to less than 20% in Tulcán. As a whole, migrants in Alberto Lleras earn 40% more than their counterparts in Barrio Tulcán (see table 5). Interestingly, migrants in both barrios expressed qualified satisfaction with their jobs, although considerably fewer of the Tulcaneses fell into this category than those living in Alberto Lleras (see table 6).

Finally, in Tulcán there is a clear indication that the migrants who have been in Popayán five years or longer hold a corner on the good jobs. Tulcaneses who have been in Popayán for two years or less have

TABLE 5  
MIGRANT HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY EARNINGS (in percentages)

Amount (in Colombian pesos)	Tulcan (N=56)	Alberto Lleras (N=63)
0-50	3.6	0.0
51-100	3.6	0.0
101-200	7.1	4.8
201-300	3.6	1.6
301-400	10.7	1.6
401-500	7.1	3.2
501-600	10.7	3.2
601-800	8.9	3.2
801-1000	17.9	12.7
1001-1500	12.5	23.8
1501-2000	12.5	19.0
2001-3000	1.8	15.9
3001-4000	0.0	7.9
4001-5000	0.0	1.6
5001 or more	0.0	1.6

TABLE 6  
MIGRANT JOB SATISFACTION

	Tulcán	Alberto Lleras
Content with Job	80% (N = 45)	90% (N = 58)
Not Content with Job	20% (N = 11)	10% (N = 6)

jobs only in agriculture and in small-scale commerce. In comparison, a number of recent arrivals (residents for two years or less) in Alberto Lleras were able to land jobs in intermediate-sized commerce or with the government. In both barrios individuals who held the most desirable jobs in industry, intermediate-sized commerce, and government averaged almost fifteen years of residence in the city, and are quite content to remain in Popayán.

#### WAYS OF GETTING AHEAD

Although the *Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje* (SENA), the Colombian government-sponsored trade school, has been operating for a number of years in Popayán, teaching such things as carpentry, welding, accounting, pottery making, and weaving, job training opportunities are limited. Many migrants simply feel they cannot afford to take time away from work to obtain training, and there are numerous stories of individuals who spent months in training, only to be unsuccessful in finding jobs in their particular areas when they finished. SENA now provides stipends during training, and products that are made in the school are sold in the school's store with the makers getting some of the proceeds. In addition, SENA's directors have asked local businessmen what skills they would like to see taught and could use. When an upper-class Payanés, one of the co-owners of a small company that manufactures office equipment, replied he could use some welders, SENA worked out an arrangement for training them.

Outside of SENA, there is a variety of night school courses, which offer everything from fundamental typing skills to agricultural production techniques. Unfortunately for many migrants, these programs cost money and the return in the form of finding better jobs has not been proven to the satisfaction of most. As a result, only half of the 7% of Tulcanés migrants who received any type of job training found that it

proved worthwhile in the sense that it resulted in a better job. In comparison, over half (51%) of Alberto Lleras's migrants had special job training, which paid off handsomely for three-quarters of those trained.

As mentioned above, migrants in Barrio Alberto Lleras possess more formal education than their counterparts in Tulcán (see table 7). Fully a fifth of Tulcanés migrants completely lack schooling; only 8% have attended any high school, and—not surprisingly—no one has any universi-

TABLE 7  
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD HEADS (in percentages)

	Tulcán <sup>1</sup> (N = 82)	Alberto Lleras <sup>2</sup> (N = 81)
No formal education	21	4
Some primary education (1-3 years)	49	32
Primary education (4-5 years)	22	40
Some secondary education (6-11 years)	8	22
Some university education	0	2

1. Data unavailable for one migrant household head

2. Data unavailable for ten migrant household heads

TABLE 8  
PERCEIVED MIGRANT KEY TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT\*  
(in percentages)

Item	Tulcán (N = 68)	Alberto Lleras (N = 90)
Ability	7	4
Dedication to Work	3	10
Education	22	42
God's Help	49	13
Good Luck	13	18
Ties	4	7
Other	2	6

\*Sixteen respondents from Barrio Tulcán listed two or more choices as being of equal value; only one respondent from Barrio Alberto Lleras did so.



ty experience. In comparison, 4% of the Alberto Lleras migrants are without education, and some have taken, or are enrolled in, college courses.

That migrants in Barrio Alberto Lleras have experienced, and thus place a greater importance on, education for economic improvement is apparent in other ways. For example, in interviews, household heads were asked to indicate which of six choices was most important in getting ahead in life (see table 8). Overwhelmingly, residents of Alberto Lleras picked education. The number who indicated it was almost equal to the number indicating the next three choices combined. In comparison, almost half of the Tulcaneses picked "God's help" as the best solution to their problems; and of the six possibilities, "education" came in second—with half as many people picking it as chose "God's help." "Dedication to work" finished a poor last in Barrio Tulcán.

#### PERCEPTIONS OF THE SITUATION

How do migrants regard their present state? When asked to compare themselves with their fathers, two-thirds of the migrants in both barrios responded by saying *their own* situation is better than their fathers' had been.

When compared with other Colombians in general, migrants in both neighborhoods felt they had fewer opportunities (67% in Tulcán, 39% in Alberto Lleras) than their fathers had had. Still, 14% of the Alberto Lleras respondents believed they had more opportunities than the average Colombian, whereas only one Tulcanés felt this way—and he had just arrived in the city and believed there were endless opportunities.

Finally, we might look at migrant attitudes toward the urban setting. As mentioned, three-quarters of the migrants in both barrios specifically selected Popayán as their point of destination, and most have no firm plans for leaving. As wage earners they draw from, and make important contributions to, Popayán's economy. In a very real sense they participate in the economic scene of urban life. Yet, in other informal ways, participation of migrants is very limited. In neither barrio are there members of organizations such as unions or religious sodalities. In fact, non-joining is the pattern of life in both barrios. When asked about membership in ten different associations—ranging from labor unions to the *Junta de Acción Comunal*—the average resident belonged to none.

Migrants commonly wish to remain as free as possible from the potential encumbrances of interpersonal relationships. At first glance it appears that there is some inconsistency between the real mode of behavior and the idealized thinking, because, as previously pointed out, the majority of migrants used personal contacts in getting themselves established in Popayán. One has only to walk through the barrios on Sundays or



fiesta days to see that residents interact. Men gather to break open a bottle of *aguardiente* (a sugarcane liquor), bring out some contraband *guarapo* (an undistilled sugarcane-based elixir), or send a child off to a corner store for some beer. Women visit continually. In Tulcán many activities occur outdoors in easy view of all. Radios provide entertainment for a couple of households while the women in each wash clothes or do their cleaning, while, over the commercial lulls of the omnipresent soap operas, they shout the latest gossip. In the mornings, in groups of twos or threes, they head into the city's markets to purchase the day's meat, fruit, and vegetables. Thus, there is a constant and continual interaction of residents.

In spite of this, migrants in both barrios state they have few friends in their neighborhoods. Some stated that their best friends resided in other parts of town; when queried further, though, they were found to interact very little with these people. Others simply stated that one should avoid having neighbors as friends because they would take advantage of the proximity and be too demanding. Even the institution of *compadrazgo*, godparenthood, is something that should not "be abused" in the sense of calling upon *compadres* in times of need.

Thus independence is the idealized rule of life among migrants. Though mouthing this ideal, residents in both barrios do borrow from one another and, in fact, have networks of individuals upon whom they call when necessary.

#### CONCLUSION

In some respects migrants in Tulcán and Alberto Lleras appear similar. They arrive in Popayán for many of the same reasons; they move in from approximately equal distances. They are similar in age when they get to the city. Before arriving they have comparable amounts of knowledge of what Popayán is like, and upon arriving, they exercise similar tactics in relying on and activating urban contacts for getting organized. They average about the same amount of time in Popayán. Furthermore, they share similar views on neighborliness, friendship patterns, joining voluntary associations, and the like.

Nevertheless, there are some important differences. In the city they get different types of jobs, with those in Alberto Lleras earning considerably more than their counterparts in Tulcán. Importantly, they have unlike levels of education and perceptions of how to get ahead in the world.

If anthropologists accounted for the variety of backgrounds from which migrants emerge, the picture of urbanization would be clearer. Not only are there different types of peasants whose experiences too often are generalized as the same, but rural proletarians (cf. J. Whiteford, 1975)

are also lumped into the same all-encompassing rural category. In Popayán many migrants, particularly in Barrio Alberto Lleras, do not come from the "traditional" rural mold. They were shop-keepers, policemen, mechanics, or school teachers who came to Popayán from small towns and who have no more in common with rural peasants than do most non-migrants in Popayán. These people, drawing upon a variety of non-agricultural experiences, tend to get a disproportionately high number of the migrants' skilled, best-paying jobs. And in general, their adjustment to city life is easier than the adjustment of Tulcaneses.

Once they are in Popayán, what causes migrants to live where they do, what factors go into urban selection, and what implications might the answers to these questions have for urban development and planning?

First, the most obvious reason some are where they are is that they moved there directly from points outside Popayán to be with family or friends. Thus their decision concerning residence occurred before, not after, arriving in the city.

Second, I agree with Uzzell (1974:130) that "different places attract different kinds of residents." Over the years Tulcaneses repeatedly have told me that they liked the freedom they have in Tulcán. Many prefer to buy lots and develop them as time and finances permit, perhaps beginning with dirt-floored, bamboo-frame shacks with wood and scrap metal siding and roof, and over the years improving them with cement floors, brick walls, and tile roofs. Some like the large open spaces, where they can raise garden produce and thus supplement their diets and incomes. Others prefer having houses already constructed, uniform lot sizes, and all of the city services intact. This, of course, is the situation in Alberto Lleras.

Third, ICT culls low-income residents, selecting according to certain criteria. By definition, in order to get government housing one must be moderately, but not very, successful in urban adaptation. It is no surprise that residents in Alberto Lleras have, from a working-class perspective, good jobs and stable incomes. Of course, there are many in Tulcán who could get ICT housing and some who have lived in Alberto Lleras but specifically chose not to stay. But for every individual in Tulcán who could qualify for ICT housing, there are a score who cannot. Herein lies a problem for development agencies such as the Instituto de Crédito Territorial. Basically, ICT is responsive to the pressures, political and otherwise, created throughout Colombia by thousands of migrants arriving in cities each year. At present ICT has several new housing projects in process in Popayán. In addition, it lends money at low interest to private developers, and on an individual basis provides home-improvement finances in specific barrios. Its intentions in wanting to provide adequate housing for as many Payanese as possible cannot be questioned. Yet

many people, like the majority of Tulcaneses, lack the economic capacity to participate in these programs. From an applied or practical perspective, ICT must be more aware of the different backgrounds, preparation, and urban experiences the migrants have. Because so many simply cannot qualify for the Instituto's housing, ICT specifically should positively encourage the growth and development of settlements like Tulcán. ICT should use its institutional/bureaucratic weight (perhaps in the sense of splitting cost differences) on behalf of barrios like Tulcán to see that they get from the municipality utilities such as good electrical service, continual running water, and adequate sewers. Measures such as these, for which Tulcán's residents have been petitioning the city fathers since the barrio's founding, not only would provide needed services, but would place less financial strain on ICT than rebuilding the area completely—a policy that the city government debated in 1970.

What does all of this mean? Succinctly, it means that social scientists must avoid undifferentiated lumping of migrants into one general category. As this paper has pointed out, we must begin to deal effectively with, and appreciate, the heterogeneity of migrant populations in cities. The problems of obscuring generalizations, the tacit working assumptions that migrants are as alike as peas in a pod, both in background and in knowledge about the urban areas where they go, must be avoided if we really wish to understand this aspect of the urbanization process.

## NOTES

In order to protect and respect the confidentiality of residents who so freely participated in this study, the names of the barrios and those of the residents are pseudonyms. I am grateful for a grant from the National Institute of General Medical Science, which sponsored the 1970-71 fieldwork. Special appreciation is extended to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for funds that allowed me to return to Popayán in 1974, and to Iowa State University, which through a series of small grants has supported various facets of the analysis of this research. My thanks go to Leonard Plotnicov for his helpful comments on an earlier draft.

1. In addition to using standard anthropological techniques for gathering data, interview schedules were administered to approximately 20% (N=157) of the household heads in Alberto Lleras in the summer of 1974. A much more intensive investigation was carried out in Barrio Tulcán, where I worked in 1970-71 and again in 1974 (cf. M. Whiteford, 1974a, 1974b, 1976). For comparative purposes, my research assistants and I used the same interview schedule in Tulcán on a sample of more than 35% (N=101) of the barrio's household heads.

2. Both barrios show identical figures of 28.7% unemployed household heads—31.3% of the unemployed in Tulcán are migrants, whereas 27.5% of Alberto Lleras's unemployed were born outside Popayán. Some of the 45 unemployed household heads in Alberto Lleras, in fact, were retired and living on pensions, thus contributing to the family income.

I encountered no such instances in Tulcán, although there, too, a quarter of the unemployed were sixty-five or older.

3. There are, of course, ways to circumvent these requirements. Sometimes individuals do not clear the sale of their houses with ICT, thus permitting some people to move into the barrio who would not otherwise pass ICT's screening. If a family holds title, they need not seek the Instituto's approval for sale.

#### REFERENCES CITED

Adams, Dale W.

1969 Rural Migration and Agricultural Development in Colombia. *Economic Development and Culture Change* 17:527-539.

Butterworth, Douglas

1971 Migración Rural-Urbana en América Latina: El Estado de Nuestro Conocimiento. *América Indígena* 31(1):85-105.

Flinn, William L.

1968 The Process of Migration to a Shanty-Town in Bogotá, Colombia: A Three-Shantytowns Test. *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 22(2):77-88.

Flinn, William L. and J. W. Converse

1970 Eight Assumptions Concerning Rural-Urban Migration in Colombia: A Three-Shantytowns Test. *Land Economics* 46:456-466.

Germani, Gino

1961 Inquiry Into the Social Effects of Urbanization in a Working Class Sector of Greater Buenos Aires. *In* *Urbanization in Latin America*. P. M. Hauser, ed. New York: International Documents Service.

Gilbert, Alan

1974 *Latin American Development: A Geographical Perspective*. Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd.

Guzmán Campos, G., O. Fals Borda, and E. Umaña Luna

1962 *La Violencia en Colombia*. Bogotá: Ediciones Tercer Mundo.

Herrick, Bruce

1965 *Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile*. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press.

Kemper, Robert

1970 El Estudio Antropológico de la Migración a las Ciudades en América Latina. *América Indígena* 30(3):609-633.

McGreevey, William

- 1968 Causas de la Migración Interna en Colombia. *In* Centro de Estudios Sobre Desarrollo Economico (CEDE), Empleo y Desempleo en Colombia. Bogotá: Ediciones Universidad de los Andes.

Simmons, Alan B. and Ramiro Cardona Gutiérrez

- 1972 Rural-Urban Migration: Who Comes, Who Stays, Who Returns? The Case of Bogotá, Colombia, 1929-1968. *International Migration Review* 6(2):166-181.

Weil, Thomas et al.

- 1970 Area Handbook for Colombia. Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Whiteford, Andrew H.

- 1964 Two Cities of Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday-Anchor.
- 1976 A Traditional Andean City: Popayán at Mid-Century. East Lansing: Michigan State University Latin American Studies Center.

Whiteford, John H.

- 1975 Urbanization of Rural Proletarians: Bolivian Migrant Workers in Northwest Argentina. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.

Whiteford, Michael B.

- 1974a Barrio Tulcán: Fieldwork in a Colombian City. *In* Anthropologists in Cities. G. M. Foster and R. V. Kemper, eds. Boston: Little, Brown.
- 1974b Neighbors at a Distance: Social Relations in a Low-Income Colombian Barrio. *In* Latin American Urban Research, Vol. 4: Anthropological Perspectives on Latin American Urban Research. W. A. Cornelius and F. M. Trueblood, eds. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- 1976 The Forgotten Ones: Colombian Countrymen in an Urban Setting. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Uzzell, J. Douglas

- 1974 The Interaction of Population and Locality in the Development of Squatter Settlements in Lima. *In* Latin American Urban Research, Vol. 4: Anthropological Perspectives on Latin American Urban Research. W. A. Cornelius and F. M. Trueblood, eds. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.